The Commonweal

WEEK BY WEEK

Ideas

ANY struggle with Marxism is necessarily a war of ideas. It was Lenin who said that partyless people are as stupid in philosophy as they are in politics; the same Lenin who told his followers that ignorance was never an argument. From the beginning of the Revolution, the Communists have laid stress on ideas—philosophy, if you will. The classical works of Lenin, Engels, Marx and Stalin are sold by the hundreds of millions behind the Iron Curtain. In the *History of the Bolshevist Party* (1938) Premier Stalin himself wrote the section on Dialectic Materialism. The study of philosophy is obligatory in all the faculties of every Russian university. About one-third of the propagandists' course is given over to study of it. It is not accidental that in America, as everywhere else, workers' schools and bookshops played such an important role in the Communist conspiracy. Lenin said: "You can't have a revolution without a theory of revolution."

Perhaps this explains to a great extent why America is losing the war of ideas; why, perhaps even more than bullets and bombs, we stand in need of a cohesive, dynamic answer to the challenge Marxism has flung to the West. The Communists know what they are doing. In their perverse philosophy they find the principles, the mystique and the driving force that account for much of their admitted zeal. For the past four hundred years and longer Western thought has been atomized by schism and secularization. There has been an intellectual vacuum which Communism now promises to fill. The Comrades have their message and they are intent on bringing it to the far corners of the globe.

What do we—rather, what can we offer in its place? By the nature of things, we are at a disadvantage in the matter of propaganda. The centralized control of the means of communication found in the police state, the absence of freedom of the press and of art, and the long and valuable experience that Moscow has in these matters, all work against us. But these are not insurmountable barriers.

More fundamental, where can we turn for the spiritual message to counteract Moscow's aggressive materialism? In a pluralist society like the United States, any religious ideal we could officially offer would have to please everybody. And in that case it would be emptied of content and meaning; it would appeal to no one. The concoction of rationalism, pragmatism and relativism that would have to pass as our national philosophy, if we had one, has itself supplied some of the ingredients for the Marxists' materialism.

Perhaps we are necessarily limited to playing a negative game—pointing up the evils of materialism and contradicting the idea that truth is relative, insisting that there are objective norms of wrong and right, which transcend the needs of the Revolution, and according to which Russia must stand condemned. Perhaps we will find ourselves repudiating some of the very same principles we in America thought we lived by. But the Communists by now should have shown us where those principles logically lead. It has been our blessing that we have not always been logical. The materialism of some of our classrooms has not yet led to the materialism of the concentration camp.

How Total?

BERNARD BARUCH spoke two months ago about the "shocking immorality" of planning to draft our young men without planning a comparable drafting of propertied interests and resources. It has been a short and shocking two months; now we are drafting 20,000 of those young men (and the officials concede that number is only to get the machinery under way), and the President has begun the marshaling of our economy.

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• NEXT WEEK •

In her dispatch from Germany, CLARA MENCK reports on the entomological front of the Cold War.

"Papers of the Soviet Zone reported that Colorado beetles had been cast there by planes of unknown nationality, and Bavarian farmers pretended to have found caterpillars ('of a brown, hairy sort') that had been parceled out by unknown planes too. While the Soviet Zone protested in full earnest about the 'Ami-beetles,' a commission of the Bavarian Diet, finding no caterpillars, declined to compete with the progressive propaganda methods of the East."

Baruch's statement was part of a plea for a comprehensive stand-by mobilization plan—one that would provide the machinery the two World Wars have proved necessary to our economy at war.

With such a plan made into law, there would be work-or-fight selective service, civilian defense, price and wage ceilings, production and manpower controls, and, perhaps most crucial, ruthless anti-profiteering and excess profits regulations, all to go into effect upon a joint proclamation by the President and Congress. This would cut at least a year off the time which would otherwise elapse between an international explosion and all-out American production—that is Baruch's estimate, and Mr. Baruch is one of those men who ought to know.

The National Security Resources Board under Stuart Symington is now working on a mobilization plan. Not very much is known about it, although the President's requests for increased inflation controls and limited priority and material allocation powers are undoubtedly part of it.

It is most important that this plan be completed and put into law. Obviously it will be a desperate necessity if there should be an outbreak of general war, but its existence alone would weight that critical power balance the men in Moscow constantly watch.

There is a narrow path we must walk right now between hasty total mobilization, which could knock the bottom out of our economy, and a cheerful course of business as usual, which would offer the Soviets the unquestionably irresistible opportunity to knock the bottom out of everything. A total mobilization plan on the books, which could immediately put the nation into khaki and coveralls, and in this lukewarm war could be applied to the degree demanded, would be a big threat to hang over the Kremlin. This country has a fantastic ability to produce food and machinery—and munitions. It is one thing the Soviets respect.

Diversion, In Strength

NEARLY lost in the flood of news coming from Korea was an item from Europe to the effect that 18 nations there, including Britain, have officially formed a European Payments

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Union. This does not, of course, make explosive news. The Payments Union is a technical business, having to do with complicated high finance on an international level, which is not the kind of thing that we tear into the newspapers to read about. Next to war, sex, sports and the funnies, high finance is, for most of us, just a puzzle with a low Hooper.

It might have been encouraging, though, at a time when the news from Korea was almost exclusively gloomy, to have given a moment's notice to this report from Europe. The Payments Union will work like a bank and clearing house. Through it the several European currencies will be mutually exchangeable. This arrangement makes trade between the 18 countries easier and, through a system of checks and balances, it prevents any one country from running up either a big deficit or a big credit with any other country in the Union, thus safeguarding the solvency of all the participants.

What all of this does is to knit Europe into a tighter economic and political fabric. And that unity is still our primary objective, because politics, it cannot be said too often, is power, and in this sense the American-European coalition is still at the center of the stage, however much events in Korea affect affairs everywhere and necessarily draw off our attention from Europe. The power factor in the Payments Union is largely economic and material, but back of that is something more important to the West, the power of an idea. This idea—that men can, without compulsion, freely get together to arrange their lives—means more ultimately to the Western concept of power in politics than military might.

At the moment we need to mobilize whatever it will take to defend that idea militarily, and to do it fast. But if we allow Korea to divert our attention from Europe, if we let our interest in these plans for unity flag, then we will have unwittingly let Korea become a bloody decoy.

Senator McCarthy's Big Show

THE big circus in Washington has run down. If it was not the greatest show on earth, it wasn't Senator Joe ("I have here in my hand a list of 205 . . . members of the Communist Party . . . still working and shaping policy in the State Department. . . .") McCarthy's fault for not trying. It was just that Korea had to come along and make the Senator and his brave charges slide back to the inside pages. But now that the affair is over, what has been settled? The Democrats say that McCarthy is a liar, and McCarthy says that the Democrats outdid the "most loyal stooges of the Kremlin."

It seems to us that at least a couple of things have been settled. First of all there has been no evidence presented to prove Senator McCarthy's charges against the State Department, or the individuals who were subjected to the Senator's special attentions. Therefore those people have the right to be treated as loyal Americans, free of any connivance with treason. No matter how many times the point is made about Americans being innocent until proven guilty, there is a tendency to regard those accused of disloyalty as guilty until they somehow prove themselves pure. We doubt, with regret, that this tendency will be altered by the subcommittee's report.

A second conclusion: The subcommittee's investigation was inconclusive and unsatisfactory. While Senator McCarthy did not prove his remarkably irresponsible charges, the question of Communist espionage was not thereby settled. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a Republican who disagreed with the majority report, made his own survey of the subcommittee's inadequacies, and concluded that the result

> has been that the work of the subcommittee has in its end results tended to besmirch the reputations of innocent persons, hamper the work of the Government investigative agencies, impair the position of the United States before the world, reflect unjustly on the many excellent persons in the State Department, discourage other excellent persons from entering the service of the State Department, and, after all these misfortunes, end up with only a most superficial and inconclusive finding.

Senator Lodge goes on to recommend that a bi-partisan commission make a secret and thorough investigation and release its conclusions well after the fall elections, "thereby taking the whole matter out of politics and getting a clean ending to the whole business. . . ."

This is substantially the same recommendation as is made (after a rather curious apologia) by the majority report. It is similar to the plan reported in these columns on April 14—that there be an investigating commission with the powers of a United States District Court. Such a commission might bring something of value out of this shameful mess.

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Henry-Come-Lately

IT WAS only appropriate that the crisis in Henry Wallace's career in the Progressive Party should have been brought on by our relations with Russia. One's attitude on Russia has always been a sort of thermometer used by the liberals in this country to measure each other's temperature with. Depending upon his attitude toward Russia, the liberal has been, at one extreme, a fellow-traveler or, at the other, an anti-Communist; and in between has been that vast horde of drifters whose good and bad reactions to the Russian ideology have wavered back and forth. This has, of course, helped to make the term "liberal" the flabby thing it is today.

Probably only once before has the pro-Russian liberal's attitude toward Russia been put to a test similar to this North Korean aggression, which has made such a mockery of the Soviet peace offensive. That was the Hitler-Stalin pact, which threw pro-Russian liberals here into the arms of the hated fascist enemy. For some, that was enough. For others, it was easy to rationalize the pact as a temporizing move by Stalin.

For too many, the lesson either didn't sink in or they wouldn't let it sink in. Whatever the reason, they had not the intellectual honesty to admit that totalitarianism is totalitarian and aggressive, whether it be fascist or communist. Either you have a vote or you don't; you have forced labor, or you don't; you respect national independence, or you don't.

It was never necessary to call Henry Wallace a Communist or "the darling of the fellow-travelers" to realize the disastrous implications of his muddled thinking. When he counseled against the Atlantic Pact, pleading for peace in a high voice, he was a tragic figure in our political life, for his hopes were indeed the hopes of every man of good will, but unfortunately, all history and reason stood against him and his counsel of appeasement.

His contribution to the flabbiness of the liberal mind in this country has been considerable. But somehow or other, Wallace's incantations served as a kind of cathartic, too, for after listening to him you went away convinced that you had heard all this before and that a war had come shortly after.

Russia, Wallace says now, could call off the North Korean aggressors any time she wanted to. But this aggression, Wallace should know, is just one of many since 1945 that any liberal worthy of the name has seen and stood against.

Catching Up With Confucius

UNDER the direction of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, an international panel of scholars has been at work for some time studying the matter of race. Their report, just issued, comes to conclusions that are not surprising. There is, they say, no scientific evidence whatever that one race is superior to another, or that one race always excels in certain qualities, or that racial intermarriage is a dangerous or debilitating practice. Concluding their report, the scholars remind us that thoughtful men have known this at least from the time of Confucius, who wrote: "Men's natures are alike; it is their habits that carry them far apart."

It appears, though, that the word has not yet penetrated some corners of Congress. A few days ago, Senate Majority Leader Lucas admitted that the Democrats have had to give up trying to get Fair Employment Practices legislation passed at this session. There are, it seems, not enough thoughtful men in Congress.

Stalin's Peace Price

THE logic of peace-making sometimes defeats itself. Prime Minister Nehru's attempt to stop the Korean war through a compromise agreement between East and West is a case in point. Obviously the war should be stopped. (All citizens in favor of peace will say aye.) Nehru also saw quite clearly that Russia was capable of turning the war off as efficiently as she turned it on. So he appealed to Russia and the West to negotiate, at least to talk about a settlement. As an inducement to Moscow, Nehru added a condition he has consistently advocated—recognition in the UN of the People's Republic of China for what it is: the effective government of China. (Its questionable moral status does not alter that.) What Nehru apparently did not see so clearly was the use to which the Soviets would put his appeal, exploiting it in their treacherous peace offensive.

And what is logic to India is not so logical to Washington. It would, to put it mildly, be a disastrous precedent to let Stalin start a war, and get paid a major diplomatic concession to stop it.

The UN, with India's support, has branded this affair the illegal aggression it is. The State Department is right in saying that you cannot buy peace at Stalin's generous price.

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Why Britain Hesitates

A Laborite explains why his Party balks at joining the Schuman Plan for European unity

By MICHAEL P. FOGARTY

"AJAX," so runs one of Stephen Leacock's renderings from the Greek, "leapt (better, was propelled from behind) into the fight." That is a pretty good description of the British Government's attitude toward European union and, in particular, the Schuman Plan. And Labor's attitude is more paradoxical than many of the first easy comments suggested.

Labor in the last five years has not suffered from a feet-on-the-ground mentality; or, as someone gloomily observed when the Labor statement, *European Unity,* burst over the Schuman family party, feet-on-the-table. "It is not so easy as it looks," the Minister of Fuel and Power said one time during the debates on coal nationalization; "I have been talking about nationalization for forty years, but the implications of the transfer of property have never occurred to me." Looking back at the Coal Board's early struggles, one would say that indeed they had not. As a matter of fact, they were not even quite sure what they were transferring the property for. Nationalization was sold to the miners with, somehow, a suggestion that henceforward the hosts of the Lord would march three times round a coal-seam blowing trumpets, and the coal would crumble of itself and fly to the surface by levitation; the matter of jobs, however, would of course stay as before. It was sold to the middle class on the ground that only under unified ownership could the industry be rationalized, output per man doubled, and half the workers sacked.

But the Labor Party really cared for none of these things. It *was* quite clear about the principle: good, then, let the decision be taken, and the National Coal Board could sort out the details after. It did the same over transport. It did it again over the school-leaving age. And the Laborites were right every time. If Britain, and particularly the British worker, has come so steadily through the last extremely sticky years, it is largely because of the fund of goodwill the Labor Party built up by *not* keeping its feet on the ground: by recognizing that, once a question has been thoroughly thrashed out and public opinion has reached agreement, it is far more important just to act than to act only when you are dead right.

Then what exactly is it that accounts for what one can only describe as the blank blindness, not to say bad manners, of the Party's attitude over the Schuman Plan, and over the unification of Europe generally? I think that commentators would have got to the heart of the matter quicker had they been accustomed, as (I understand) the Chinese are, to reading from back to front. For in *European Unity,* otherwise known as the Brown Book, which includes the best as well as the worst thoughts of the Party, Labor's apology is turned upside down. If you start at page 15 and read backwards to page 1, you see emerging the outlines of a really massive case, while the sectarian nonsense of the first few pages is left in its right proportions at the tail end.

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YOU cannot, first of all, legislate uniformly for an area as diverse as Europe. Nor can you expect to accumulate overnight the experience to allow, in all-European legislation, for local conditions ranging from Greece, with its sixty to eighty pre-war dollars a head national income, and nearly half its people engaged in agriculture, to the $400 and 6% of Britain.

Even if you could, it is doubtful whether the necessary basis of popular consent exists. It is quite true that, once public opinion is convinced that a certain principle is right, the right course is to accept the principle at once. The public will swallow its detailed applications, however irritating they may be in individual cases. But the point is precisely that in this case public opinion in certain countries, and notably Britain, is not yet convinced enough of the virtues of European unity to accept, from an authority which Britain does not control and from which it cannot withdraw, orders which might, for instance, wipe out the livelihood of a whole district. Depressed areas are a sore spot in Britain, and there are bitter memories of the years between the wars. Even today, under a Government which has at

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its disposal (as no one has yet suggested that a European authority could have) effective means of bringing in new industries, a highly explosive political issue is liable to arise every time the National Coal Board closes down an inefficient pit. Maybe public opinion ought to be more convinced, and less selfish. But Labor scores a good point when it argues that the first step is for at least one of the major parties to make European union a first-class political issue, and give the public a chance to think out and express its views: as not even the Consevative Party, in spite of Mr. Churchill, has done until the last few weeks.

And it is not possible to dodge these difficulties of legislating on the European scale simply by tearing down trade barriers and letting private enterprise sort itself out. You could do that in the time of the Founding Fathers, when life was anyway so localized that the barriers did not make all that difference. You cannot do it, without handing Europe on a plate to the Communists, in a world where everything is as highly organized, and as closely tied together, as in the life of a Western European nation today. If the advance towards freer trade, joint planning of major industries, and all the rest of it is not to lead to chaos, there must be in each economic area of Europe a Government with full, final, and *general* responsibility to watch the way every change ties up with every other, and to act accordingly. And, since this Government cannot be all-European, it must be the Government of each state.

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FINALLY, we are not yet clear just how European unity will tie up with Atlantic unity, the Commonwealth, or the global unity needed to defeat Communism. It is important to take no step in the narrower field of European union which might endanger progress in those which are wider and more important. And this is above all important for Britain, with its key position in each of the three main existing circles of Western organization.

From all of which the conclusion is that European Unity (type not specified) is indeed a good thing, but that we should move towards it step by step, setting up executive authorities where an immediately convincing case for action can be set out; but making these organizations inter-governmental, not bodies with power to give orders to governments: leaving governments, therefore, with their full existing authority and, if they like, the right to withdraw from any or every joint organization and mind their own business.

There is a place, Labor says, for an organ, or organs, to provide general European leadership, but only provided it has no executive authority. The International Labor Organization has led the way for thirty years in the field of industrial relations, not by issuing orders or reaching legally binding agreements, but by research and conferences of the interested parties from which emerge agreed standards of policy. To enforce these standards, or not to enforce them, is a matter for the constituent Governments, trade unions, and employers' organizations, not for the ILO itself. But the ILO educates public opinion directly: for the beauty of ILO is that, since it groups the interested organizations and not merely Governments, it has roots reaching down behind Governments into the people themselves. Let the Council of Europe set up commissions on these lines to do for social security, or full employment, on a European scale what the ILO has done on a world scale for industrial relations: then, in the Labor view, it will be of real use.

To this case, as it stands, one can only say Amen. It ought all to have been said long ago, as some of us did say it, though not in the earthquaking accents of Transport House. But it is none the worse for being said now. And, judging by the Parliamentary debate on the Schuman plan, the Conservatives' only comment is to cross the t's and dot the i's.

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THEN has all the fuss and bother over *European Unity,* over John Strachey and the Schuman "plot," been a storm in a teacup: a discussion of the timing and tone of the Labor Party's statement, but not of its substance? Timing and tone are not so very unimportant: and in any case there is a great deal more to it than that. Labor, whatever its leaders may now say, had had over and over again to be dragged into united European action by the hair of its head. On the face of *European Unity,* the Party ought to have been out ahead of the world, condemning, certainly, a number of rather questionable and hasty demands for immediate European union, but campaigning hard for its own conception and taking a vigorous initiative. In actual fact we owe the various defense pacts to Stalin, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation to Truman and Marshall, the Council of Europe to the European Movement and the Hague Conference (prima donna, Churchill: Labor M.P.'s advised to keep away), and the plan for coal and steel to Schuman.

The Schuman Plan is, it is true, a sharp break from Labor's conception of cooperation between Governments which retain their full rights, including the right to serve notice to quit the plan. But it takes no great skill in foreign affairs to see that there is one nation in Europe to which, in respect of one major aspect of its eco-

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nomy, no other nation will concede the right to walk out from under international control. No one will let Germany have the last word about the Ruhr. If, therefore, other countries are free to dispose of their own coal and steel, Germany will have an unequal and inferior status: equality of status can only mean equality in subjection to a supra-national authority, like that proposed by Schuman. But it is obviously a vital interest of all Europe, including Britain, that the Germans should have, and feel themselves to have, an equal status, with all that this implies for their psychology. So? Schuman has put forward the one possible answer. Why on earth could Labor not see it? And what accounts for the smugness, the offensiveness, and the fantastic misrepresentation and inconsistencies about united European action in general—not merely the Schuman Plan—of the first pages of *European Unity,* of which no condemnation can go too far?

One reason is certainly the ancient suspicion that Continental Europeans, and especially French and Germans, with their different intellectual, social, and political tradition, go too easily for showy principles and forget the detailed, grass-roots experimentation on which they should be based. There is a lot in that, as any Englishman —or, I think, American—with experience of international conferences will agree. The pity is that in these last years it really is—for once, if you like—Schuman, who like Churchill, has seen the trees while Labor has been lost in the forest.

A newer suspicion, not entirely unjustified—Labor's experience, remember, is with the Continental socialist parties—is of European defeatism. Far too many people in Europe, Transport House feels, conceive of a united Europe as a third force capable of staying out of the conflict between America and Russia, or at least of serving as a buffer between them. British Labor leaders are themselves clear that there is only one major conflict in the world today, and that in this conflict Britain, Europe, and America are all actively engaged, and on the same side. By all means let us collaborate, they say, even with those Europeans who are anxious to get out of their world responsibilities: but let us be very careful of getting into a position where they could tie our hands.

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BUT I am sure that a great deal of the insolence and insularity of the socialist attitude goes back simply to the fact, which I pointed out in a previous COMMONWEAL article, that British Labor leaders stand today in the position of self-made men who have succeeded in their life work, and as yet only dimly grasp how much they have necessarily left undone. The Catholic social movement has taken as its main aim in Europe the "deproletarianization" of wage-earners. We have no business to be surprised if, having gone through this unpleasant-sounding process, wage-earners come out behaving like the men of property themselves. British Labor leaders feel they have acquired by dint of sixty years struggle, a pearl of great price: jobs, social security, good wages. Let others do as much for themselves: but let them not expect to share, and waste, the substance of those who have borne the burden and the heat of the day. Let them, moreover—and here again is the voice of the self-made man, full of his own achievement—do it the way Britain has done it: the way of raising material standards of life by Webbian bureaucracy and governmental control. And let them forget the empty idealism reflected in the Council of Europe, the Scottish Convention, or the demands for a Welsh Parliament. OEEC is business, Strasbourg is not.

Fundamentally false ideologies, as apart from the passing mental stiffness of the older generation, have no doubt had something to do with it. But an ideologist like Strachey, a man with a Central European cast of mind, whose gods in his time have been Mosley and Marx, is still quite exceptional in Labor, as in any other British politics. The Labor Party's main trouble is that of any self-made man: it needs time, perhaps even a generation, to settle down. It is Labor's, and the world's, misfortune that the time available is so short.

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THE answer? *The Economist,* not long ago, hit the nail on the head. There is a ferment working. I have explained previously how the up-and-coming generation is beginning to think very differently from its elders, on this as on other matters. The great thing now is to keep the discussion boiling. Get the Government to explain itself, *The Economist* insisted, in a string of White Papers on different aspects of European unity: as the Labor Party has already been compelled to do in *European Unity,* with highly constructive proposals for Strasbourg as a result. Force Europe into the limelight as a political issue. Make the experience of the "functional" bodies like OEEC more widely known and understood. Above all, take up and press Labor's own proposal, for the Council of Europe, of commissions constituted like the ILO; for here is a chance to draw into European action not merely Governments, but the mass organizations, with their roots in the people of all classes, which can do most to form the public opinion on which democratic governments ultimately stand or fall. What has to be overcome is a state of mind. The first step towards overcoming it is to get both the real issues and the vague suspicions which are clouding them fully into the open.

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A G.I. Meets the Koreans

An Occupation soldier learns about the people and their religion

By JEROME SMILEY

WHEN, in the winter of 1947, I was assigned the job of Information and Education Instructor to a medical battalion stationed near Seoul, the capitol of Korea, I had absolutely no idea that the focal point of my talks would turn out to be Korean religion. As a G.I. fresh off a troopship, I had not the haziest notion of what Korea was like. Yet, six months later, when I left for the United States, I was saturated with the religion of the country. It all started with the first class I taught.

The temperature was nineteen degrees below zero, the classroom was unheated and the window panes were broken. The disgruntled men filed in, just daring me to teach them something, and to top it off, I had received a memorandum from the general informing me that, due to certain incidents which had just occurred in the city, I was to impress on our men the necessity of acting as "ambassadors of the United States in a foreign land." When I started to make this point, I was immediately greeted with catcalls and hoots of laughter. One private stood up near the rear of the room and said, "How can you have any respect for these people? Why, they're crazy! If you drive down the street in a jeep, a Korean will jump in the path of the car and won't get out of the way until the very last minute." This brought forth a burst of corroborating remarks. Having been brought up in New York City, where an incident like that is by no means unusual, I couldn't see why they thought the Korean's behavior so odd, but I decided to see for myself.

I stationed myself at a street corner and waited. Sure enough, almost every time a car came down the road, a Korean deliberately ran into the path of the vehicle and then dashed out of the way at the very last moment. While I watched, one Korean stood there a moment too long and was knocked down by the jeep. I became curious and determined to find out why the Koreans acted as they did. A Korean interpreter for the army had the office next to mine, and I went in to see him the following morning.

I introduced myself, and, after chatting a few minutes, I told the man, whose name was Kim Soo, what I had observed the previous day and I asked him if he could explain these actions. He could. He explained that spirit-worship, including shaanism, fetishism and animism, is the basis of Korean faith, even though, in the 4,000 years of her recorded history, Korea has been religiously influenced, in varying degrees, by Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity. In every phase of Korean culture there is some evidence that the spirits of heaven and earth are worshiped. These may be the unseen powers of the air or of nature or the various genii of hills and rivers, of caves and mountains. There is a god for every aspect of life. Farmers may worship Mok-sin, the god of harvest and rain; lovers of good food may worship Cho-an-nim, the tutelary god of the kitchen. The morning star is worshiped, and similarly the tiger and the dragon.

Kim Soo explained, in relation to what I had seen the day before on the street corner, that one of the fundamental beliefs of the Korean people is that each one of them is continually followed by an evil spirit which he is always trying to get rid of. What the Korean was trying to do was to put himself in the path of an automobile and jump out of the way at the last moment, hoping the evil spirit would be mowed down by the vehicle.

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A FEW DAYS later Kim Soo knocked on my door and asked me if I would like to see a Korean funeral. I said I would. Standing on a street corner a little later, he explained to me that this was the funeral of a wealthy man, and therefore more elaborate than most. The funeral procession appeared. Leading the procession was a double file of banner and lantern bearers, the banners slung from long slender poles with streamers attached, and the lanterns, of papered bamboo, unlit, also mounted on poles. Next appeared the hearse, a palanquin painted in gaudy green, red and yellow, visible to everyone, since it was mounted on the shoulders of thirty men, who marched in step and chanted a lament. Following the hearse came a double file of mourners, dressed in white, and borne along on rickshas.

I turned and asked Kim Soo why they wore white. He told me that white was the Korean

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color of mourning, just as ours was black. Because the period of mourning is sometimes a matter of years, white has long since been adopted as the color of every day dress to simplify matters.

Last in the funeral procession came a long file of boys carrying huge wreaths of artificial flowers. When they had passed by, I made a motion to leave, but Kim Soo told me to stay. About three minutes later another hearse came into view. "Oh, is this another funeral?" I asked him. "No," he answered, "this is the real funeral. The Koreans believe that there are evil spirits who are always present to harm the spirit of a person who has just died and who is not yet familiar with the ways of the other world. Therefore the evil spirits will congregate around the first hearse, while the dead man, in the second hearse, will be able to enter the other world safely."

Walking back to the battalion, Kim Soo explained that the funeral procession would then proceed to the grave, dug in the shape of a half-moon, the site of which is all important. The ideal spot is decided by the arrangement of the surrounding hills and mountains. If, to the right of the grave, the formation of the hill resembles a tiger, and to the left a dragon, the ideal burial ground has been found, and the prosperity of the next generation is assured. After the burial, a white paper, signifying the spirit of the deceased, is placed in a box which is then brought back to the house of mourning, where it remains, beneath draperies, for the entire mourning period, usually two years for each parent.

One Sunday morning about two weeks later, I went for a walk with Kim Soo, our destination being a Buddhist temple, about six miles away. As we came to a small village, Kim Soo pointed to a curious looking object at the side of the road. There, in a small mound of earth, a pole was slanted. Hanging from the pole were small bells and cymbals which jingled in the breeze. He explained to me that one of the Korean beliefs is that when strangers enter a village, evil spirits sneak in behind them. These little structures, they believed would ward off the evil spirits and propitiate the good ones.

Early in the afternoon, we came to the temple, after climbing a fairly steep mountain. Opposite the open door squatted a giant statue of Buddha, gazing vacantly through the incense smoke burning on the altar before him. Above the temple itself was a small shrine containing a painting of an old man with a tiger cat nestled at his feet. This, Kim Soo told me, is the Spirit of the Mountain. While Buddhism had become relatively powerful in Korea, it nevertheless had to make several concessions to the powerful spirit-beliefs of the Koreans. This was one of them. He also told me the fanciful legend of the coming of the 53 Buddhas in a stone ship from the Land of the Wulchi. They had battles with the dragons and griffins of the pools and rocks, until gradually the land was rid of these monsters and was claimed for the worship of Buddha.

Subsequently I learned that Buddhism entered Korea in the 4th century. There still are 32 Buddhist monasteries and remains of 150 more. Buddhism flourished in Korea until the fourteenth century when King Tai-cho founded a new dynasty and substituted Confucianism for Buddhism as the official religion. Buddhism never regained its power, although it has continued to the present day. Buddhism preached great kindness to animals, because of its doctrine of transmigration of souls. The Korean people never gave up eating meat, but even today the butcher is considered the most degrading of all professions that a man can engage in.

★

CHRISTIANITY entered Korea with great difficulty in the 18th century. By the late 19th century it had become the foremost religion in Korea. However, just as the Buddhists had to make certain concessions to the Koreans' ancient spirit-worship, so, too, did the Christians. The purest religious notion of the Koreans, completely divorced from Buddhism or Confucianism, is the belief in Hananin, Supreme Ruler of the Universe. So strong is the belief that foreign missionaries have almost universally accepted the term for use in teaching Christianity.

In 1910, with the formal annexation of Korea by Japan, the troubles of the Christian Church began. Since the doctrines of Christianity were distinctly opposed to the Japanese superior race concept, to Emperor-worship, and to the warlike concept of virtue, Japan did everything in her power to drive Christianity from the peninsula. By 1940 all but a handful of missionaries had been driven out. But the missionaries went back to Korea when World War II ended. Even with all the persecution, Christianity has managed to keep many of the gains it made in the beginning of the century. In 1944 there were an estimated 175,000 Buddhists in Korea, 400,000 Protestants and 300,000 Catholics. Of the Koreans who have not been converted to Christianity, the all-around Korean is likely to be a Buddhist when he philosophizes, a Confucianist when in society, and a spirit-worshipper when he is in trouble.

When I left for the United States, I carried away with me pleasant memories of a people, friendly and sympathetic, who had a religious outlook that, although now more attuned to that of Western civilization than at the turn of the century, was still colored with ancient spirit-worship.

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FROM CANADA

A Canadian Looks at "Look"

THE time has come," writes George Shea, Financial editor of the *Wall Street Journal,* in a recent issue of *Look,* "to think seriously of making the US and Canada one country or, to start with, at least one economic unit."

With these words the ever-sensitive Canadian sensibilities have once again been ruffled. Because of their far smaller numbers, Canadians have always been fearful of absorption by their larger and sometimes jingoistic neighbor. The days of armed intervention from the South are happily long over, but political saber rattling in Washington is still too recent a thing to permit Canadians to listen calmly to overtures for continental union.

It is less than forty years, for example, since Canadians turned down an extremely favorable offer of trade reciprocity made by the Taft regime because "Champ" Clark, Democratic Speaker-Designate of the House of Representatives, said of the agreement, "I am for it, because I hope to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of the British North American possessions clear to the North Pole."

Mr. Shea is considerably more suave than Mr. Clark, but his suggestions rouse the same smoldering fears—particularly since he dwells exclusively on the economic and strategic aspects of the proposed union. For some years Canada has cooperated most gladly and most fully with American economic, industrial, and military experts in planning the joint defense of the continent. From the dark days of Nazi aggression without lapse until now the Canadian authorities have gladly and gratefully done all they could to bring about integrated defense.

But it is an open secret in Ottawa that at times the American military and other officials with whom we have dealt have been exasperating in their bland assumption that our separate way of life was ridiculous and that it was our "manifest destiny" to join them in political union.

Mr. Shea shows something of the same narrow outlook, for his arguments are exclusively economic and strategic. He overlooks those historical, cultural, emotional and institutional differences which make the variety and the charm of our differing national existences. It is not nearly enough to point out the doubtless valid economic and military reasons in favor of economic or political union. There is more to life than rationalized production and streamlined defense.

The author of this report, Murray Ballantyne, lives in Quebec. He is the former editor of the Canadian weekly, The Ensign.

MR. SHEA'S failure to grasp the underlying human realities of the situation is shown by the summary way in which he disposes of the two great differences that mark off Canada from the United States and make her separate existence desirable. These differences are that she is: (a) partly British; and (b) partly French.

Of the English-speaking Canadians Mr. Shea writes that they "and Americans resemble each other closely. . . . Originally there was a real difference between the two populations, but it disappeared long ago." Surely no sensitive observer who crosses the border can agree with such a diagnosis. If there are resemblances, there are also differences. Canadians do not share the biased opinion of the prejudiced Rudyard Kipling who, after his troubles in Vermont, wrote that on the Canadian side was "Safety, Law, Honor, Obedience," and on the other side "frank, brutal decivilization," but we will all insist that there is indeed a difference.

The very genesis of the two countries is diametrically opposed. The United States was founded in revolution against the British tradition and the British connection. Canada was formed out of a firm determination to preserve both. The first English-speaking persons to settle in Canada in any significant numbers were the "loyalists" who fled from the States at the time of the Revolution. Canada is basically British both politically and judicially.

These political and historical differences are reflected even in personal habits and traits of character. Who has not noticed that Canadians are more cautious than Americans, more reserved, more conservative, more European?

But if differences are marked between English-speaking Canadians and Americans, they are sharp between French-speaking Canadians and Americans. The United States is dedicated to the noble ideal of the "melting pot," to merging all the different peoples of Europe who come to its shores and to fashioning out of them a new "American" way of life. Canada is dedicated to the not less noble and more difficult experiment of creating a bi-lingual, bi-cultural state. We here are trying to make a nation that will be neither English nor French but both. We are trying to establish a national texture with the richness of shot-silk.

★

CONSEQUENTLY it takes our breath away when some one like Mr. Shea dismisses the whole problem of French-Canada by affirming that "it would be no problem at all." French-Canadians, he adds, "need have no fear of losing their identity in a combined US-Canadian population. . . . Their rights could be guaranteed."

This, surely, is nonsense. Within the Dominion framework, French-Canadians have a right to their language and their own civil laws in the Province of Quebec. Moreover they have a right to their language in the federal parliament and in every federal agency. In Canada there is reason to hope that these rights will in time even be extended. But in a continental union, which would reduce the French from thirty-three to

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three percent of the population, it is inconceivable that there would continue to be bi-lingual currency, bi-lingual stamps, bi-lingual forms, and the free use of French in the chambers of Congress.

But there is more at stake than that, for the French-Canadians in the Province of Quebec enjoy and grant to others perfect freedom of education. There is no question of double taxation, and Protestants and Catholics share equitably the school tax revenues to maintain their own schools. Other provinces are less fair in varying degrees, but in scarcely any of them is the system fully comparable to that of the United States.

Because they are Catholic, and because they are French, the people of Quebec believe that education belongs primarily to the parents and not to the State. They would regard a single state-imposed, tax-supported system of schools as tyranny. Nothing in American history gives them any assurance that they would be able to maintain what they regard as their natural rights in a scheme of continental union.

History endorses this judgment. The French-Canadians have never shown any enthusiasm for union with America. Even in 1775, a scant twelve years after their conquest, the French-Canadians remained loyal to the British connection and gave a cold welcome to the invading American forces. From that day on they have preferred the British to the American connection. Their loyalty to the British system is not based on emotion, but on the simple calculation that their distinctive way of life is better guaranteed under the one than under the other. That is the meaning of the famous statement by a 19th century French-Canadian statesman that the last gun fired on the North American Continent in defense of the British connection would be fired by a French-Canadian. If now there are a few French-Canadians who seek to detach Canada completely from the Commonwealth, their actions are sparked entirely by the hope that it might now be possible for Canada to stand quite alone. Any thought that they might be absorbed by, or united to, the United States would throw them back instantly upon the British connection.

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MR. SHEA undoubtedly has hold of a point of real importance, particularly in this modern and grim age. But his proposed solution is superficial and unworkable. We must enlarge our horizons. What is needed is not an alliance between *le pot de fer et le pot de terre,* not a mere detaching of Canada from her valued and valuable British connection in order to attach her to the United States. If the call of the times is for more unity, and there is good reason to believe that it is, then we should aim not at a mere continental union but at some sort of union between the United States and the whole of the British Commonwealth. Such a union would be more nearly between equals. It would not arouse the complex of fears and jealousies that bedevils Canadian-American relations. Moreover it would provide that looser framework in which linguistic and cultural minority rights could be preserved.

MURRAY BALLANTYNE.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Who Invented Statism?

YOUNG Peter Viereck doubles as one of our vigorous historians and poets. In his capacity as the former, he has been spending some time revisiting conservatism, and finds that it contains a potential for saving democracy. Mr. Viereck is young enough and articulate enough to demand and get a good deal of attention and, joining in a demand for a Schlesingerian vital center, is anxious intellectually to erect a strong, resilient tightrope over which we may walk with safety, preserving liberty as we go.

Obviously, when a political party, seeking political power it has not had since 1932, sees the issue, in the United States, as "liberty versus socialism," very few people can be made to take it seriously. While it thus defines the issue, its leading baritone off the Senate floor technically avoids suits for libel, while on it offensively but safely makes unwarranted attacks on, among others, the men who are bravely attacking Communist aggression in Korea. And the Republican vocalist does this in language which entitles him to a distinguished place on the editorial page of *Pravda.* That there are Catholics from Brooklyn to Rochester who do him dubious honor does not affect this judgment.

But it can hardly be alleged that the Republican Party, so discovering our central issue, merits our sincere respect. It has not honorably contributed to the dilemma of our lifetime: how can we preserve our freedom and advance our welfare without loss of the former? American workers who were hurt to see NRA fall before judicial ruling because through it their wages were raised to $12.00 a week, cannot be expected to vote Republican in droves on the ground that it has seen and eased their difficulty.

★

WHAT young Mr. Viereck calls "the humanistic conservative" is not writing Republican literature these days. And yet the dilemma which has been pointed to is a real one, since the growth of great power in the state deserves our fear. The intellectual guide of those Republicans who take intellectual guidance, stated the problem with his usual clarity. It was Alexander Hamilton who said:

> In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: You must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.

It is the obligation to control itself which government has found ways of resisting since Adam. To adapt a phrase from Oscar Wilde, it can resist everything except

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temptation. That is why political problems are moral problems, because what we are dealing with is men. Only men know temptation and only men need exercise restraint. Justice Stone's remark, in *U. S. vs. Butler,* "the only check upon our own exercise of power is our sense of self-restraint" was a rebuke to the court which had for some time been auto-intoxicated.

But the difficulty exists because need exists. Men's legitimate urges must be satisfied. There will be no problem if we refuse their urges in the name of liberty, in whose name, a famous French lady pointed out, crimes were committed. It is easy to cry "socialism" and reject legislation; the problem which urged the legislation remains. One has no just claim to be called a "conservative" who simply raises barriers. For them men have the word "reactionary."

★

MOVED by the fact that value in the world of economics is tested by what is called the law of diminishing returns, Mr. Viereck has invented a pragmatic test for the political world. He calls it "the Statist Line." He defines it thus: "Briefly, I would define the Statist Line as the margin of diminishing returns for humanitarianism. Beyond it, the gain in local working conditions—though in itself desirable—is less than the loss of liberty, so that the balance sheet holds a net loss for society as a whole." [*New Leader,* July 1.]

When you are growing up one of the things you discover about men is their intriguing and exasperating habit of agreeing to a definition whose every application they will quarrel over. Thus could Jefferson write after Edmund Burke had written his famous *Reflections*:

> The Revolution of France does not astonish me so much as the revolution of Mr. Burke. I wish I could believe the latter proceeded from as pure motives as the former. . . . How mortifying that this evidence of the rottenness of his mind must oblige us now to ascribe to wicked motives those actions of his life which wore the mark of virtue and patriotism.

Himself aware that "Conservatives and Republicans must not let the fear of crossing the Statist Line stampede them so far away from the line that they feel nostalgia for the immoral, inhuman working conditions of the industrial revolution," Professor Viereck can still say that "the ordinary people of New Zealand and Australia have comprehended the danger of statism in voting out their labor government."

It is doubtful if the Australian elections represent a comprehension by "the ordinary people" of "the danger of statism." And such a danger may be as real at the hands of Conservatives as of Labor. One thing the Conservatives seem to have in common is a desire to outlaw the Communist Party. Given the engagement in Korea, I daresay that the desire will become, in the United States, more heated even than it is. The Conservative Government of Mr. Menzies has already offered such a bill to the Australian Parliament. It has passed the House and been defeated by the Laborite Senate on June 21th. Such a defeat may mean that "the ordinary people" may have another opportunity for a new exercise in comprehension.

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THE Menzies Bill is worth looking at. It defines a Communist as "a person who supports or advocates the objectives, policies, teachings, principles or practices of communism as expounded by Marx or Lenin." It would not be flippant to say that such language exempts Stalinists and catches socialists. In this country, Norman Thomas might be a victim of it, as would surely be the members of the Social Democratic Federation.

Moreover, there is a section allowing for what the Australians call the "declaration" of Communists. For "declaration," I think we may substitute nominating or listing. One may be "declared":

> Where the Governor-General is satisfied that a person is a person to whom the section applies, and that that person is engaged or likely to engage, in activities prejudicial to the security and defense of the Commonwealth.

Appeal from such declaration is allowed only because one is not a person to whom this section applies. But the section applies to those who are "Communists," and to those who have been members of an officially "declared" organization at any time since May 10, 1948. If the section applied to one, he would have no right of appeal.

The High Court of Appeal may have only one justice "and the decision of that justice shall be final and conclusive."

Writing in the *New Leader* of July 8th, Miss Dorothy Munro, on whom I am here heavily dependent, says that "the real injustice in this bill is that the defendant does not know the specific charges on which he has been convicted. All he knows is that he has been declared a 'Communist.' Under these circumstances, how can he possibly be expected to prove his innocence?"

In order, at least, to save the rights of non-Communists, the Labor Party has offered amendments to the bill, which would "extend the rights of appeal, provide for compensation for a cleared appellant, and limit the powers of search." The last amendment was accepted by the government before the bill was defeated. Given all the things here said about it, and the further fact that the Australian government offered and pressed for legislation against men held *likely* to commit subversive acts, we can hardly say that the "conservative" has furnished us with concrete evidence that he is or "can become," as Mr. Viereck puts it, "the savior of democracy as the watchdog of statism, welcoming necessary reforms but growling ominously as soon as either leftist or rightist prowlers go too near the Statist Line."

What conservatives "can become" is purely a matter of speculation, and you can make your bets either way. But if Mr. Viereck regards, as I take it he does, the Menzies government as being truly conservative, who,

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then, has done the prowling near his statist line, and who has growled? And what becomes of his statement that, in respect of personal liberty, "today the greatest danger stems from the left and from the Labor Party"?

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I HOPE that I am not being unfair to Mr. Viereck, because I have no conscious desire to be unfair to anyone. And the ease with which everyone over six becomes a "liberal" these days is disconcerting and even legitimately frightening. One has a right to see difficulties in a national health insurance program, believe a budget ought not to be happily defined as being in permanent imbalance, hold that not all things done by labor unions are good, without being forever and swiftly damned as a "reactionary."

The thing called statism is not the invention of the right, nor does it hold all the patent rights. Mr. Viereck is aware of this and says that "Statism of the left is no greater (nor less) a threat to personal freedom than the statism of the right." It *is* no less a threat. This is a thing our youth, I may risk their clamant wrath, needs to discover and not forget. It was Macauley who said that to conserve you must reform, and there have been conservatives since his day who have remembered it. There is at least as much to be learned from Burke as from Tom Paine and he who dismisses Hamilton is a fool. Mr. Viereck's plea for an intelligent and humane conservatism is a necessary one.

But, Mr. Viereck did write that sentence about the greatest danger being from the left and from the Labor Party, and I do not believe it to be demonstrably true. I am a long way from being a socialist, and I have never believed in the blithe nonsense about the need to break the eggs if you want an omelette. That phrase has been too handily used to rationalize frequent abuse of power —used even to condone dictatorship by men who should have known better. But welfare is advanced by legislation, and I cannot persuade myself that freedom is preserved only when the State stays its hand. I think that R. H. Tawney has not improperly read history when he says that "the mother of liberty has, in fact, been law."

I am afraid that the historian in Mr. Viereck has been deceived somewhat by the poet in him. When Wordsworth revisited Tintern Abbey he knew "sensations sweet, felt in the blood, and felt along the heart." Mr. Viereck, revisiting conservatism, felt, I gather, similar sensations, and did not clearly distinguish "with gleams of half-extinguished thought," in the glamorous, enchanted mists "of eye and ear—both what they half create, and what perceive."

Wordsworth revisiting the Abbey discovered:

> That blessed mood,
> In which the burthen of the mystery,
> In which the heavy and the weary weight
> Of all this unintelligible world,
> Is lightened: That serene and blessed mood,
> In which the affections gently lead us on—
> Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
> And even the motion of our human blood
> Almost suspended, as we are laid asleep
> In body, and become a living soul:
> While with an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
> We see into the life of things.

Who is there who can resist the magic and the splendor of that verse? Who does not feel remade in its wonderful presence, conscious that no one has made us reverential towards nature as has Wordsworth?

But in dealing with history, more especially with politics, it is wise to see that we are not led gently on by the affections. The fact is that personal liberty is not the dear property and possession of any party. Liberty is the personal concern of each of us: if it be left for guardianship to any party, it will languish from neglect, or die from strangulation. What is important is that political parties exist; none of them is a savior, except, in any event, as that the one out of power is a corrective and a constant threat to the exercise of power.

Mr. Viereck is a distinguished American poet whose verse elicits and earns my respect. So I hesitate to suggest that he revisit conservatism once more, all poetry put away, and that he stay awhile, not romantically dreaming.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

The Screen

TIME WOUNDS ALL HEELS

THE question is, however: how far can a movie go in realistically displaying the antics of its misguided hero before that hero gets his come-uppance? (We use the word hero loosely, without any implication of nobility or admirable fortitude; we really mean central figure.) And the answer, during the current trend of rough realism in films, is to give the audience as much as it can stand. Recently "Night and the City" and "The Asphalt Jungle" hit the peak of brutality and realism; and now several new films are playing along in the same vein. I say "playing" purposely because I can't help wondering if the film makers don't use the rough stuff and stark realism just to increase the excitement of their themes.

"711 *Ocean Drive*" tackles a theme as timely as today's headlines: gambling and bookies. Our hero in this case has quite a knowledge of electronics which he is putting to good use for the telephone company in Los Angeles. But his small salary won't stretch, and when a bookie friend shows him how his brains could be used to more monied advantage by an organization running a wire service, he starts to work for people of extremely dubious repute. At this stage of the movie you get a thorough

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education in how bookies, helped by a wire service right from the race track to their place of business, cash in on split-second timing. Needless to say this is very interesting, and as directed by Joseph H. Newman the film really doesn't have a dull moment in it. As our young man goes further and further into this business of putting his good brains to a wrong use, he becomes more and more enmeshed in the unsavory bookie organization. And after an opportune death, he becomes the big shot.

There's not much point in my going into detail in this study of crime. As a movie "711 Ocean Drive" is well done. The performances of the large cast led by Edmond O'Brien are straightforward and sincere. There are loads of thrills heightened by several viciously cruel scenes; and there is a remarkably photographed chase sequence at Boulder Dam. I suppose the final moral is that crime really doesn't pay and that bad people come to no good end. But full well might you wonder if you care enough about these people with their cockeyed standards to want to watch them in action. If the answers showed how to help them, perhaps then there would be some meaning to these films. But as most of these pictures are constructed their purpose is little more than an exercise in crime.

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IN *"Quicksand,"* Mickey Rooney plays a young man who sinks deeper and deeper into thievery. Mickey seldom gives a bad performance, and this film stands up with his best—but it's an old story: the poor young fellow who needs an extra twenty bucks; he robs the cash register, then has to make another robbery and then another and then another. Jeanne Cagney portrays the gold-digging chippy who leads him on; and Barbara Bates plays the nice girl who deplores his actions. Director Irving Pichel keeps things moving and there's plenty of excitement and brutality. You even feel sorry for Mickey when he breathlessly asks, "Am I going to have to keep running all my life?" But at the finale you feel imposed upon, drained of tensions and emotions by another movie that only traces another thoughtless boy's steps going down.

★

I SUPPOSE *"The Flame and the Arrow"* could be called a twelfth-century study in skullduggery and criminals. It has its villains who are pushing around the little people of those days, and it has its heroes who are acting like Robin Hoods. But one really can't take this costume piece seriously. Its social significance doesn't bear close inspection, but its bravado and athletic high jinks are lots of fun. Burt Lancaster shows that he can swing from a parapet and over a moat as well as both the senior and junior Fairbanks. He shoots a mean arrow and he rides well—so who am I to ask for a plot that makes sense or a cast of supporting actors who can wear costumes as if they were clothes? Above all Lombardy must be free of its tyrant; and Burt's the boy to free us from his yoke. Hurrah for Burt ! Down with all heels!

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

The Restless Yankee

By MASON WADE

IT WAS ONCE taken for granted, even in the outer darkness beyond New England's borders, that the Yankees had exercised a determining influence upon the development of the nation. De Tocqueville declared a century ago that the social theories of the United States came directly from New England; that Yankee principles had "interpenetrated the whole confederation." Boston remained the cultural capital of the country long after it had lost its economic leadership; and a few outlanders, bred as they were in the tradition of the Boston schoolmarm and the *Boston Cook Book,* dared to question its dominance.

But with the submergence of the Yankee strain in the mingled peoples of America, and with the rise of new regional civilizations which have largely thrown off the yoke of eastern cultural dominance, the once generally, if largely self-canonized, Yankee has tended to become the butt for the rest of the country's ridicule, and his part in civilizing much of the United States is beginning to be forgotten. This is in part a natural reaction to the pious chauvinism of the great New England historians, whom many have found intolerably smug, and in part the result of the shift of historical attention to the less familiar annals of newer Americans. Vermont-born and New Hampshire-bred Stewart Holbrook, who in half a lifetime has carried on the old Yankee tradition of wandering from the Atlantic to the Pacific, has been moved to call for justice to his native though abandoned heath. In a rich, large, detailed and somewhat disorderly book (*The Yankee Exodus. Stewart H. Holbrook. Macmillan.* $5.) he has sought to chronicle the migration of the Yankees to the foreign parts west of Lake Champlain and the Berkshire Hills; and to estimate their influence on the vast American hinterland. This influence he considers to be "immensely greater than was commonly believed and also out of all proportion to their numbers."

Migration is one of the oldest Yankee traditions, not merely a nineteenth-century phenomenon as commonly believed. Mr. Holbrook reminds us that in the seventeenth century Roger Williams and Thomas Hooker left Massachusetts to found Rhode Island and Connecticut, and that in the eighteenth Ethan Allen and others left Connecticut to establish Vermont and other New Connecticuts. The repitition of placenames among the older settlements, first northward and westward along the New England frontier, and then over and over again westward across the nation, suggests a constant migra-

MASON WADE *comes from a family that has lived in New England for three hundred years. His books include "The French Canadian Outlook" and "The Journals of Francis Parkman."*

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tory urge. This Mr. Holbrook assigns to a deep-rooted Yankee desire to see what was on the other side of the mountain, rather than to the more conventional explanation of religious and political differences, poor land, high taxes, and a fearful and wonderful climate.

For the migrants of colonial days the religious impulse was probably dominant; for the Tories who left New England in great numbers just before, during, and after the Revolution, the political one largely replaced it. Land, hunger, the desire for greener fields, began to make itself felt with General Phineas Lyman's Military Adventurers, who settled about Natchez in the 1770's; and this motive, coupled with the Yankee drive to better oneself and to achieve independence, remained dominant for most migrants throughout the nineteenth century. It is still at work in New England.

In the post-Revolutionary years, Connecticut and Massachusetts folk pushed northward into Vermont; Massachusetts and New Hampshire folk into Maine. The West—by which upstate New York was then meant—first began to exert its pull at the same period. Beginning in the 1790's, the Susquehanna, Ohio, and Connecticut Land Companies successfully lured what their Yankee organizers modestly called the "most robust and industrious people in America"—meaning Yankees—into western Pennsylvania and the old Northwest Territory. The Ohio Fever reached even into the most remote backcountry of New England, and young farmers, ministers, lawyers, and doctors joined the Revolutionary veterans for whom the lands had first been set aside. Vigorous counter-propaganda conducted by the stay-at-homes failed to halt the exodus. Many of those who had hesitated to go West before 1816 had their minds made up by that Year of Two Winters, known in countless town annals as "Eighteen Hundred and Froze to Death," when a foot of snow fell in June and no crops ripened. Those who needed another climatic push got it in 1821, when a Big Wind, the like of which was not known again until 1938, laid waste much of New Hampshire. To the farmers on the move were added the come-outers of all sorts,who abounded as the standing order of the old New England broke down: the Perfectionists, Millerites, Mormons, Swedenborgians, abolitionists, dietary reformers, utopians of all sorts, who sought more freedom for their notions on the frontier.

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YANKEES on the move generally preferred to settle among their own kind or in the wilderness. In the 1830's it was Illinois and Michigan that were the chief Yankee goals. Rich, rockless prairie land lured the hill farmers who were being driven from their native ledges by the sheep mania. The once fertile New England intervales had already begun to play out, thanks to reckless exploitation. Mortgages at 10% drove many others from their ancestral homes. Plagues, galloping consumption, the stirrings of religious revivals, spurred the old Yankee restlessness. The great exodus, which began with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, continued to grow until the outbreak of the Civil War, and resumed at an accelerated pace immediately afterward. As early as 1857 Yankee editors saw the end of rural New England, deploring the departure of young men and women "taking from us the most vital elements of progress and our future good condition." By 1860 half a million Yankees had left New England, and the Cassandras redoubled their complaints as the post-war exodus continued the Civil War's great drain of Yankee manpower.

It was not only the alluring prospectuses of land speculators that stimulated the exodus. New England's own prophets pointed to the West, and the missionary impulse was strong. Edward Everett Hale preached emigration as a Christian duty; Daniel Webster proclaimed that farmers were the founders of civilization; and Horace Greeley constantly reiterated the glories of the West in his New York *Tribune,* leading Emerson to the sour comment that "Greeley does the thinking for the whole West at $2 a year for his paper." But the most effective propaganda for the new lands was the word that drifted back to New England of earlier migrants who had prospered mightily in the West.

The Yankee was forester as well as farmer, and the "forester class," which had cleared the forest farms of Vermont and New Hampshire and cut the timber of the Penobscot, was drawn to the great white pine stands of Michigan. Their sons went on, cutting as they went, to Wisconsin, and Minnesota; and their grandsons to Idaho, Oregon, Washington, and California.

Yankee politicians and Yankee ministers dominated Michigan, as well as many of the other new states, and gave it local government by town meeting, which was later adopted in modified form by Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois. New Englanders tended to dominate finance, politics, bar, press, and education, even when their numbers were as small as the 3% enumerated in Iowa's first census.

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THE tide of Yankee emigration did not stop at the Mississippi; and as it lapped over, it met Yankee forces working from the Pacific Coast. The Far West was linked with the East largely through Yankee efforts. The express companies which preceded the railroads were Yankee concerns, both Wells, Fargo and Adams & Co. being founded by Vermonters. The Pony Express was the creation of another Vermonter. The first president of the Western Union, which exploited the Yankee invention of the telegraph, was a Massachusetts man; while New Englanders were active in both the Union Pacific and Central Pacific. And the opening of the West was made possible largely by Yankee inventions. Samuel Colt, Oliver Winchester and Eliphalet Remington made the weapons which were universally used. Edwin Nettleton, Ohio-born of Connecticut parents, devised the irrigation system for Horace Greeley's Colorado colony, the most practical of all American utopias. Nettleton, along with Joseph Gliddon of New Hampshire, who invented the barbed wire which permitted agricultural settlement on the plains, and Daniel Halladay of Connecticut, who invented an improved windmill, were among the most

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influential pioneers of the old West, though their names are not as famous as those of the mountain men and two-gun men.

While the Far West was being pioneered, the tide of agricultural settlement had crossed the Mississippi. The missionary impulse was revived by the anti-slavery crusade. Abolitionist Massachusetts raised funds as well as men to make Kansas a free state in the 1850's. The New England Emigrant Aid Co. was supported by Boston capitalists, and backed by Horace Greeley and the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, who recommended from the pulpit that every emigrant to the territory should have a Bible in one hand and a Sharps rifle in the other. A Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony was promptly organized in New Haven. Washington and Oregon drew other Yankee agricultural pioneers, as well as lumbermen, and among the former the early missionary impulse was not wholly dead, though more and more the Yankee emigrants tended to be apostles of business rather than of the Word of God according to their private lights.

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WHAT manner of men were these Yankee Ishmaels? One observer of them in the West found both Scots and Yankees exceptionally good men in any field because "they want to make good wherever they go because of fear that otherwise they might have to return to their native lands." But it is also clear from the record that Mr. Holbrook has compiled that their thrift, industry, and enterprise—these were words that they were wont to capitalize—their devotion to law and order, education, charity, and the Gospel, made them admirable pioneers and citizens. Mr. Holbrook admires almost all their qualities except their intolerance and their temperance—by which they meant total abstinence and which they failed to impose upon their new neighbors from the South and from Europe. Churches, academies, and colleges rose promptly in the path of their migration.

With the bolder and more adventurous moving out, the Yankee lost something of his dominance in his homeland. Yet, though New England's rural population declined, the total population tripled between 1830 and 1900 despite the great exodus. Population and wealth continued to increase after 1900, but the old New England was gone.

But although it was night for the old New England, it was noon for the new New England, which despite the repeated more or less reverend obsequies conducted by non-Yankees has stubbornly refused to die. The Yankee, bred in a hard country, has always been hard to kill, and the old neolithic Yankee spirit has kept New England something more than a historic shrine and graveyard. Her schools and colleges still draw the young from all quarters of the nation to the first fount of American learning. This alone is enough to reassure the true Yankee. A Fourth of July orator in Massachusetts in the 1870's, when New England's fate was much debated, proclaimed: "Who cares for the growth of New England? Who cares, so long as she can continue to give principles and institutions and men to the Nation?" The only answer was his own: no Yankee cared, so long as the whole nation became New Englandized. That sacred goal was not attained, but New England's mark is rarely wholly missing in any quarter of the country.

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MR. HOLBROOK has compiled a massive brief for the Yankee. Unfortunately he has reiterated his arguments, multiplied his illustrations unconscionably, and thus blurred the main lines of his case. If the state and local histories from which he largely draws his material might in most instances be justly described as "mug books," from their wealth of idealized portraits of pioneers with a purse for such vanities, his own volume might be called a "name book," for a relentless account is given of hundreds of nonentities, as well as of significant figures. Then Mr. Holbrook is no man to scant the picturesque or the curious, and sometimes his antiquarianism leads him into bypaths far from his main historical line. The writing may be too fine for some tastes, but it is indubitably richly human and moving. Somewhere in his wanderings in the hinterland Mr. Holbrook has acquired an un-Yankee luxuriance of speech and a tendency to lapse at times into the high antique style. But much can be forgiven one who shuns the jargon which vitiates so much academic writing, and whose sympathetic intuition perceives historical truth which often "defies all the yardsticks of the professors of the social sciences, no matter their imposing graphs, their means and medians, their cabalistic improvisations which they cite as truths and call by such wondrous terms as the coefficient of acculturation."

In his conclusion Mr. Holbrook mourns the decline of the Yankee notions of industry, economy, and labor for the glory of God:

> Simple and austere notions they were. They survive, here and there, but they are not held in any esteem by the mass of Americans today, who dismiss them as old-fashioned, as backward, as narrow, as antiquated. Perhaps they are. But they were notions formulated by an amazingly durable and most effective people who thought that their legs were made to stand upon. For three hundred years, more or less, that belief and those notions served them and America well. I could wish, sir, that we in mid-twentieth century were better acquainted with old Bradford of Plymouth Plantation, he, the governor of the Pilgrim colony, who was certain that *all greate & honorable actions are accompanied with greate difficulties, and must be enterprized and overcome with answerable courages.*

Though the Puritan creed is not our creed, there are worse texts for our times, and we may join in the hope that some measure of the Puritan spirit at its best may help to fill the present spiritual void of the nation at large.

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Books

Two Adolescents. Alberto Moravia. Farrar Straus. $2.75.

HERE are two more stories from the Italian novelist whose *The Woman of Rome* rode high on best-seller lists last winter. To many the memorable thing about *Woman* was that its pages offered some of the sexiest passages to be found on the open shelves. Signor Moravia's name on a book jacket now has somewhat the same popular, if not exactly literary, appeal that a bedroom expert like Kathleen Winsor enjoys. Even the most doggedly prurient won't be disappointed with his two adolescents. Both of them, Agostino and Luca, have their problems—and, as anyone who has ever been one knows, the deepest concerns of adolescents are rarely bound up with solid geometry or end-runs, pious literature to the contrary notwithstanding.

But there is more to Moravia's work than meets the leering eye. There is power and delicacy in these two stories and a certain subtle moralism. Each of them in its way is a bitter comment on modern society. Each of them gives witness to the modern malaise, the self-loathing that marks the age.

Agostino tells of a young innocent, thirteen, the sheltered son of a spoiled, beautiful widow. One day the boy is thrown in with a gang of young toughs. From them he gets his first abrupt, crude lesson in the facts of life. Young Agostino, hardly ready to bear the burden of sex, is nearly crushed by it. He finds himself at a point where to move one way leads to incest, to move the other, to homosexualism. And as so often happens with adolescents—in life as in novels—he is alone, with no one to turn to, at the most crucial moment.

The boy, neither a child nor yet a man, learns that he is not ready to meet the world on its own savage terms, and the world is not ready to accept him. There is no place for innocence that like his has ceased to be ignorance.

LUCA, Moravia's second adolescent, is no innocent but the knowing, sophisticated son of money-grubbing rich parents. In his disgust for the world he is about to enter, the boy, consciously and deliberately, rejects everything that seems to give its ultimate shabby meaning to the life he sees around him. He gets rid of his piggy-bank savings, burying the lire rather than following his first generous impulse to give it away, in order to show his contempt. He disposes of his football, his books, a beloved stamp collection. He refuses to eat as he should and neglects his studies, which he has been taught should lead to the kind of success his father found. He convinces himself that he is rejecting life itself.

After a long illness, marked by a purging Freudian delirium, and a peaceful (it is the only word) sex ex-

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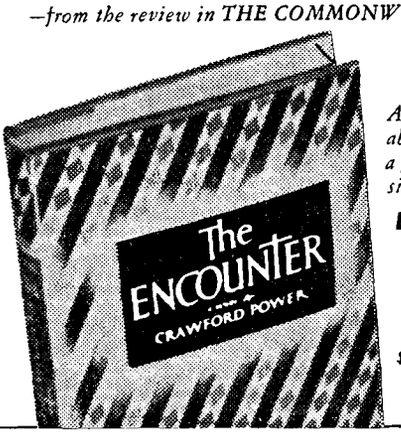

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perience with a kindly, maternal nurse, Luca welcomes life again. Living, he realizes then, is not the monstrous distortion his parents and teachers have made of it. It was not he in his rebellion but his elders themselves who had rejected life. Life should be: "not sky and earth and sea, not human beings and their organizations, but rather a dark, moist cavern of loving, maternal flesh into which he could enter confidently sure that he would be protected there as he had been protected by his mother all the time she was carrying him in her womb." The good motherly woman who came to his bed stood for nature. And for him to know their placid union—docile boy and experienced, undemanding woman—was finally to live.

So run these two stories of adolescents. Agostino comes to the brink of manhood knowing only that the life the modern world offers is ugly and will surely bring him lonely anguish. Luca, the exceptional, learns that only by rejecting the modern travesty of life can a man finally know what it is to live.

It was Saint Augustine who said that flesh is not life. But Augustine knew a life that finds no recognition in Alberto Moravia. Without recognition of it, living will always be a bitter riddle. In *Two Adolescents* Moravia has framed that riddle with precision and art.

JOHN COGLEY.

The United States and Japan. Edwin O. Reischauer. Harvard. $4.

IN the face of the Far Eastern crisis a question of the greatest importance is whether our Occupation policy in Japan has been successful, and to what degree our former enemy may be helpful in defending the democratic world against further Soviet expansion. We have lost our influence in China, due to the muddled minds of some of our Far Eastern experts and the indecision of our foreign policy. Whether we like it or not, in a world in which Moscovite imperialism is determined to expand by all the means of power politics, the only other great power on the globe cannot successfully counter Soviet measures except by developing a strong policy of its own.

Edwin O. Reischauer was born in Tokyo, the son of the Presbyterian missionary August Karl Reischauer. Reischauer, junior grew up in Japan, and speaks and reads Japanese. Since 1941 he has served as an adviser in the State Department's Division of Far Eastern Affairs. From this background he has written an informative book which, however, often fails to be specific, and shies away from decisions on some important questions.

On some other points, Mr. Reischauer has made his personal decision, and emphasizes his views. He claims that it will not be possible to make Japan our military ally without seriously endangering the present democratic trend of Japan's interior policy. In the event of Japanese remilitarization, he says that a revival of the old militaristic traditions might be unavoidable and would

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drive the rest of Asia away from our democratic ideals. Mr. Reischauer, who evidently does not see a third World War as a danger of the very near future, claims that the United States should be more interested in winning Japan as an ideological partner and in this way strengthening American influence throughout Asia.

According to Reischauer's analysis, the economic problems lead to the same policy. Manpower, coal and water are the only energies Japan has to offer to the world market. With these she can transform imported raw materials into goods for re-export, but she must do it on a grand scale, and with our benevolent agreement, so that her margin of profit will be sufficient to support her people. He compares Japan's situation with that of the British Isles, but of course finds it much more complicated.

Thus the author waves aside the problem of Japan's role in the great dynamic power conflict of the present day and stresses the importance of a far-sighted American policy that gives Japan the opportunity to develop a democracy of her own, really "made in Japan."

Mr. Reischauer surveys the aims of our occupation, but although he praises them as "daringly conceived and forcefully executed" he does not make it very clear why the reforms we enforce have not stabilized Japanese life, nor does he make clear what course the Japanese have to follow in order to accomplish this. The reader looking not only for the facts of the past, but for practical advice for the future, will regret that Mr. Reichauer does not state the things to be done.

Strangely enough, the questions of Japanese affinity to Christian ideals and of the success and failure of the Christian missions are badly neglected. The promising role of Catholicism in Japan is ignored. The educational problems of the nation are touched upon several times, but here also we miss a clear-cut program—how to educate the young generation so that they may produce the individual Japanese brand of democracy Mr. Reischauer looks for.

MAX FISCHER.

Captain Sam Grant. Lloyd Lewis. Little, Brown. $6.

THIS biography reveals Grant to us only until June 28, 1861, it is true, but you will perhaps learn more about Grant from it than you will from any other biographical treatment. As you lay the book down you will deeply regret that Mr. Lewis was not given the opportunity to write the later volumes he had planned about Grant. His death last year removed from the writing scene a man who had studied Grant for over thirty years and who had been deeply interested in Civil War history throughout his life.

The treatment is sympathetic but at the same time analytic, and never maudlin. Lewis believed that Grant's earlier life had never received the investigation it deserved. The fifty-four pages of *Notes* at the end of the book made it evident that this shortcoming has now been remedied. In the 430 pages of this superbly written

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biography you will come to know Grant well, because you will practically live with him from the date of his birth, April 22, 1822, until he took charge of the troops at Camp Yates, near Springfield, Illinois, on June 28, 1861. You will come to know his father, Jesse, and his mother, Hanna, and you will come to understand the home environment which affected Grant so profoundly.

Ulysses Grant was married in August, 1848, and his early married life was spent at Sackett's Harbor, on Lake Ontario. In 1852 the War Department transferred him to the Pacific coast. The account of the trip, by way of Panama, is decidedly graphic. About one-third of the group died from cholera. Then Grant took up residence at Fort Vancouver, from which he sent letters to his wife in which he made clear his longing for her and his two small sons. It was here that he began to drink somewhat to excess, but Mr. Lewis believes that Grant's failing in this respect has perhaps been considerably exaggerated. In April, 1854, Grant resigned, for reasons which the author analyzes with some care.

Then came the efforts which Grant made in the following half-dozen years to find a place in the worlds of farming and business. As everyone knows, he seemed to lack the business sense which made his father worth perhaps $150,000, a very large sum a century ago. When the war began in 1861 Grant's first efforts to secure a commission were failures. No one had any confidence in him; no one felt that Grant could make even a slight contribution to "the war effort." However, simply because no one else seemed available, Governor Yates of Illinois offered a commission to Grant in June, 1861, and it was accepted. Grant's background both in the army and in civilian life had been anything but prepossessing; no one expected him to do anything of importance in the Civil War. It seemed evident to everyone that he was simply a failure. He was so catalogued by scores of men about whom we have completely forgotten. The man who disliked military life in general and war in particular was about to embark on a career destined to lead him to the White House. What happened to U. S. Grant during the war and during his presidency will be made more understandable by reading this arrestingly written biography of his first thirty-nine years.

PAUL KINIERY.

• REVIEWERS •

MAX FISCHER was a foreign correspondent in Japan and the Far East. He is now on the faculty of the New School for Social Research.

PAUL KINIERY is dean of the graduate school at Loyola University in Chicago.

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